1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai. 846

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), except that they were thought desirable. 845

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure frequently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the knee downward. 856

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but not thereafter. The term *fakahaalavaka* was used to designate the particular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl. 302 851 834 884 [622] [565]

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old female attendant. She and the old woman chew *tuitui* (candlenut), *langakali* flowers, *nukonuka* flowers, and *pako* grass root, or other sweet-smelling plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing and the candlenut is used as soap. 881 [565] 881 841 [515] [302] [574] [431] [515] [824] [302]

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not married before first menstruation. [776] [582]

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was forbidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood 643 881 [515]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

and because that kind of tapa was stiff and would stand away from her body. Presents were brought by all the surrounding country people and presented to the Tui Tonga. The men brought kava and food. The women brought mats, tapa, baskets, wooden pillows, and other valuable articles. The gift was called (both men's and women's together), *katoanga oe ngata* (literally, the finishing feast), probably in reference to the termination of childhood. The permanent gifts went to the Tui Tonga and his family; the food gifts were distributed among the people gathered to celebrate the occasion. There was no confinement of the girl or food tapu.

During menstruation in general, women took care of the flow by means of a piece of tapa rolled up and inserted between the legs, where it was held in place merely by leg pressure. Any piece of old softened tapa would be used for such purpose.

BOYS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

The *tope*, a long lock of hair, worn by small boys over the temple was cut off at puberty, perhaps on the precise occasion of "circumcision." One informant stated that a boy entered manhood, when his voice changed and hair began to develop on his body and face, and that then his lock of hair was cut off. Two other informants were certain that a youth's hair was cut man fashion immediately after the tapu following "circumcision" was lifted.

Circumcision, or better supercision because of the character of the operation, usually took place between the years of twelve and sixteen, but is said to have been performed on boys as young as six years in age. All males were circumcised except the Tui Tonga. The adoption of Christianity seems not to have in any way curtailed the practice except that the Hebrew method has partially displaced the Tongan method.

The terms *tefe* (the vulgar word) and *kaukau* (the word of polite society) are the precise designations for the Tongan operation which consists in making a longitudinal slit in the upper surface of the foreskin. The term *kamu* is also applied, but means truly to circumcise (cut around) and might be applied to a hand or a tree. It is a term of little respect and is applied to the Hebrew form of circumcision. Both operations are now performed for the male population by the Government medical officers.

Supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe*.

Boys were usually operated on in groups called *langa mamalu*. I recall such a group in the Government hospital at Nukualofa in 1921. A chief's

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A chief's son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son.

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator who was to officiate.

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called *hekehcka*. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

> A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.
>
> Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kovakava-ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.
>
> The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.
>
> In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

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On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *kaihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *alevi* (arranged) and *fatongia* (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class.

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*vaifua*) is presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititamo*. Marriage to identical cousins was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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boy was whipped so severely that he ran away from Bovai's household and sought refuge in the house of a relative.

Within the children's groups themselves, there appears to be a well-defined beating-order based on seniority, independent of sex and almost independent of measures of physical strength. A younger child takes the whippings of those older and in turn passes them on to those younger still. This principle of seniority runs also through child-labour. The rule seems to be: never do any task demanded by an elder unless it is impossible to find someone younger whom you can force to do the job instead. Thus, if our houseboy, aged ten, was about, our two husky housegirls, aged seventeen, spent much of their time and energy finding tasks for him to carry out. They would rant and complain and occasionally beat the boy until the job was done to their satisfaction. If on the other hand, the girls were absent and the houseboy with a friend was about, then it was the houseboy's turn to recline upon a kerosene tin and order his young friend to light the fire or to fetch water. The friend did as he was directed, on pain apparently of losing the immediate favour of the older boy. We had, on numerous occasions, opportunity to suggest to all concerned that a job to be done could often be done easier and quicker by the older youth rather than by an ordered-about younger person. The suggestion was obviously incomprehensible to our helpers. They would stop to agree with us. But immediately after the commands and orders would be resumed. The principle of seniority is generally well-defined in Tongan society at large. It is to be expected therefore, that it should in some measure be made the basis for the organization of interpersonal relations in the society of children and youths.

Children of all ages from infancy onward wear clothes. The minimum clothing for a young boy is pants with or without a shirt. Older boys generally wear a shirt or vest together with pants or *vala*, the latter always being worn for church or festive occasions. Girls always wear dresses. In swimming, boys would go naked whereas girls invariably swam in their clothes.

Puberty

There is no ceremony connected with a girl's first menstruation. She tells her mother who in turn explains

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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that it is *tapu* to work, to cook, or to wash clothes during the menstrual period. The mother also explains that the girl must from now onward observe all the *tapu* associated with the attitudes of respect *(fakaapaapa)* which the girl henceforward observes in regard to her brothers.[21]

Between the ages of ten and twelve the boy is supercised. If the operator should be a native medicine man the occasion is marked with a small feast and a gift to the expert. Today, however, it is general custom in the village to send the boy to the hospital in Neiafu where a free operation is performed by the Tongan native practitioner. There is little feasting or gift-giving. It is still very necessary for a boy to be operated upon if he is not to suffer shame for the rest of his life as one abnormal and despised. But with the ease and simplicity of the hospital operation, there has been a sort of shifting of responsibility for the whole matter onto the shoulders of the white doctor. The operation has, therefore, become a routine affair with no connected overtones of emotion or anxiety on the part of the parents of the boy. With the passing of anxiety there has also passed any felt necessity

[21] There is great change here as compared with ancient practice. Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 186) notes that chiefly families still observe old-time ceremonial connected with a girl's first menstruation. He adds: "These observances were formerly general." The note in the text concerning male supercision should also be compared with Gifford's account (*Tongan Society*, pp. 187-189) of boys' puberty-observances. Formerly the operation was technically a matter of supercision; today this is still the common practice. After this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell sent us the following note which amplifies the material given in the text. Dr. Lopdell writes: Vava'u practice is pretty general throughout Tonga. Child, or rather infant, superincision is practically unknown. Boys come to the hospital in Neiafu when between the ages of nine and twelve years; ten years is an average age. There are a few native medicine men who operate in the villages but I think that it is safe to say that the medical department does about ninety per cent. of the operations. Often a gang of boys, say ten to twenty boys of about the same age and from the same village, come to the hospital on the same day. The boys make a colourful cutter load of human freight if they come, dressed in their best clothes, from one of the distant villages far down Vava'u harbour. The operation is usually performed by one of the hospital boys. It consists of a simple scissors cut along the dorsal line of the prepuce. A local anaesthetic is given. On returning to the village a small feast may be held but there is no fuss or bother made about the operation.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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to mark what is now a non-critical period by feasting and gift-giving. Presumably the boy may still suffer from anxiety over the operation, but he is after all, only a boy. Neither parents nor village see any necessity to concern themselves greatly with the emotions of a mere boy when they are experienced out of sight and out of sound in a distant hospital. The situation has obviously changed greatly from the time when surgery was carried out in the village without the aid of anaesthetics, sterile instruments and specific operator's skill.

COURTSHIP

The average village man's idea of a woman who is beautiful emphasises first of all the fact that she should be fat in every part of her body. Her eyes should be far apart. There should be a slight prognathism and everted lips. Skin should be a medium brown, not too fair and not too dark. The feet should be large and well formed. Conversely, a woman whose skin is very dark or one whose bust is large but whose buttocks and feet are small, is looked upon with small favour by the idealists. Naturally, few women in Pangai measure up to the ideal. One who chooses a mate or begins a courtship must overlook much and weigh the preferential value of skin colour against size of buttocks or feet.

The mother exercises considerable supervision over her nubile daughter. An industrious girl, well chaperoned, is likely to make a good marriage. An unchaperoned girl who shows signs of laziness, who is on a familiar joking-relationship with many men, or who visits much about the village instead of staying home quietly working, may be attractive to some young men, but the elders see to it that no easy marriage will be arranged. The model mother will not allow her daughter to walk unescorted at night. Our housegirl's home was barely 200 feet from our house, but the girl's mother would always send a younger sister or brother to escort the girl home after dark from one house to the other.

It is difficult to judge whether pre-marital sex-relations are common among the young people of the village. All informants were positive that with the exception of two doubtful cases, all the young unmarried girls in the village

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

boy's head seems to have been cut. This practice of leaving a long lock is now obsolescent. One still sees it, but not frequently. It is said that the hair of the girls used to be cut short on the crown and left long at the sides, but that at puberty the hair was cut the same length all over and then allowed to grow. This treatment of the girl's hair has become even more rare than the boy's long lock and I am unable to say that I have seen any undoubted example.

Amongst the gifts at a wedding are mats, presented by the bride's relatives, on which the young couple shall lay their children when born. The happy pair rarely, if ever, use this thoughtful gift for its ostensible purpose, and indeed do not keep it for themselves at all, but let it go in the general distribution of presents at the wedding ceremony. For some days prior to the marriage of high chiefs, the length of time varying according to the period before the guests begin to arrive, native cloth for towels, and candle-nuts (with which the Tongans prepare a favorite detergent) are presented to both bride and bridegroom. The interesting statement has been made that the cloth and mats used by the bride in bathing were afterwards given to the bridegroom, but this has been categorically denied by the chief whose marriage called forth the statement, and as few have taken a deeper interest in ancient Tongan ceremonial, or are better versed in it, his ignorance of any such practice cannot be lightly set aside. In his opinion the cloth and candle-nuts were presented to the bride and bridegroom for them to cleanse and beautify themselves for each other. He added that there is always the possibility that they will not be so used, and that in any case they are distributed to the guests with the other presents. It should be added that the portion of the wedding gifts which ultimately falls to the lot of the bride and bridegroom may be very small.

It is time, however, to return to our new-born infant, whose cord has not yet been cut. The cutting of the cord was performed by the male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord conveniently, and as paterfamilias struck it asunder with an axe he uttered a wish for the future career of the child—that a boy might grow up a great warrior or fisherman, that a girl might be beautiful, and so forth. The paternal benediction not infrequently called for